11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 It probably had more effect than killing the man, by showing them that they were not safe at any distance.

648 439 On the 10th, early in the morning, some people from more distant parts came in canoes alongside, and sold them some pigs; so that they had now sufficient to give the crew a fresh meal. After dinner Captain Cook went on shore, and collected eighteen pigs.

Next morning he went down to the same place where he had been the preceding evening; but instead of getting pigs, as he expected, found the scene quite changed. The nails and other things they were mad after but the evening before, they now despised. The reason was, several of the young gentlemen having landed the preceding day, had given away in exchange various articles which the people had not seen before, and which took with them more than nails or more useful iron tools. Trade being thus stopped, the Captain prepared to leave this place, and go where their wants might be effectually relieved; for after having been nineteen weeks at sea, and living all the time on salt diet, they could not but want some refreshments; yet they had not one sick man on board, owing to the many antiscorbutic articles they had, and to the great attention of the surgeon.

April the 11th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they weighed. They had now but little wind, and that very variable, with showers of rain.

●175 The Marquesas, which they had just left, were discovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, and from him obtained the general name they now bear. They are five in number, viz., La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Christina, and Hood's Island, which is the northernmost; La Dominica is the largest.

174 The inhabitants of these islands, collectively, are without exception the finest race of people in this sea. For fine shape and regular features, they perhaps surpass all other nations. Nevertheless the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Isles, show that they are of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them tolerably well, and it was easy to see that their language was nearly the same.

291 The men, for the most part, have nothing to cover their nakedness, except the Marra, as it is called at Otaheite; which is a slip of cloth passed round the waist and betwixt the legs. This simple dress is quite sufficient for the climate,

/77/
in adolescence (which left her sterile); the other case, however, may equally as well have been hereditary. Most Marquesans above the twenties have contracted venereal diseases at least once in their lives, while a number of adolescents, mostly male, have contracted it also. It is not looked upon as a prestigeful experience; most Marquesans being rather reticent about their own record. This is completely understandable in view of the great emphasis which the culture places on genital hygiene.

In collecting female life histories, my wife found that sterility among older women was often associated with a history of severe venereal infections in youth. Up until the post-World War II period, there was no more than a token attempt made by the French government to control venereal diseases which were evidently extremely high. The advent of antibiotics has made treatment easy and relatively rapid. One must add that the use of the hypodermic and syringe is most impressive, constituting something of a positive attraction to draw infected patients to the infirmary, although the severe lectures given out by the medical personnel mitigate somewhat the attraction of the equipment used in treatment.

Native remedies for venereal diseases are in wide use, especially in areas that are remote from the administration doctor or trained nurses, stationed on various islands throughout the archipelago. The remedies are applied often by native medical practitioners, although many "non-professional" individuals know the mode of preparation.

/78/	haika mimihati	"medicine for broken urine"
	ki'i'ama	skin of the candlenut (Aleurites triloba F)
	ki'i kehika	skin of the pomme rouge (Anona squamosa)
	'aka hau	roots of hibiscuss (H. tiliaceus)
	'aka outi	root of Cordyline terminalis
	noni vehine	fruits of morinda citrofolia L.
	noni vahana	(round and square stemmed respectively)

/78 cont./ 757

These ingredients are brought together, pounded into a paste and mixed with the water (vai'ehi) of a black coconut ('ehi kei kei). The concoction is then drunk several times daily for three days.

haika hao'ehi	"medicine for the white man's discharge"
te tupu o te puhipuhi	iron rust (usually scraped from nails that have been long exposed to sea water) 757 823
vai hitoro	juice of the lime

The iron rust is broken into small pieces and placed in the bottom of a bottle to a depth of about an inch. The remaining space in the bottle is then filled with lime juice. After allowing the mixture to stand two days with repeated shaking of the bottle, the liquid is applied to the open lesions, three times a day. Discharge supposedly stops in three days. In ten days the symptons will supposedly disappear. The Marquesans place great faith in this remedy. An individual that I knew very well /79/ reported that he had used it to recover from a very advanced case of hao'ehi, without any visible effects.

Other remedies, widely acclaimed throughout the islands were introduced by missionaries in the late nineteenth century. They were evidently patent medicines, once commercially available in France, but no longer found in Polynesia, as far as I could determine. These were: ehitoni (a reddish liquid) and mitihu'u (a pill). Their value may have been psychological mainly, as were some other mission medicines (holy water from Lourdes mixed with soil from the mission yard was regularly administered for tuberculosis and is still regarded by the natives as a first-rate curative!) 757 797 177

Another remedy collected in 1958 is for general venereal diseases, but the ingredients have not been identified and will not be included here. 757

The presence of venereal disease in the Marquesas may be traced to the early period of European contact. Mendana's 164 175

/79 cont./ 164 175

crew (1596) got on so infamously with the natives that it is difficult to see how there could have been too much chance to transmit the diseases to the native population. It is almost certain, however, that the diseases were present among Mendana's crew, as they had come from Peru and Chile where venereal diseases were endemic among the population.

In 1791 Marchand (p. 113) reported that his crew showed some symptoms of venereal disease after leaving the bay in which Mendana had stopped /80/ nearly 200 years earlier. However, with the diagnostic techniques at their stage of development in 1791, it is quite possible the crew members in question might have been afflicted with some nonspecific urethritis, resembling a venereal infection.

This explanation is all the more likely in view of the statements given to Krusenstern in 1804 by an English deserter who had resided in both northern and southern groups of the archipelago for a number of years previous. This individual declared that there was no venereal disease present at that time. It was probably shortly after that the diseases were introduced by whaling crews who flocked to the islands in the early years of the nineteenth century. The American occupation of Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, ensured that the diseases were firmly implanted on Nuku Hiva. By the time of the French occupation in 1840, venereal disease had so spread among the breeding population that sterility was a very common phenomenon (Garcia 1843).

Discussion and Comparisons

A. Population

161 174

Estimates of the maximum aboriginal population of the Marquesas have been very confusing, as most European visitors to these islands saw very limited segments of the population of one or two islands, and then made estimates for the populations of those islands which in turn were used by later writers as the basis for further extrapolations, yielding "estimates" of the

/80 cont./ 161 174
entire archipelago census. An example of such /81/ extrapolations is shown in the compilation of Fr. Simeon Delanas, a French missionary in the Marquesas who wrote extensively on Marquesan culture and natural history:

Year	Source	Population
1595	Mendana	55,000
1791	Marchand	32,000
1804	Krusenstern	70,000
1813	Porter	230,400
1838	D'urville	25,000
1843	du Petit Thouars	20,200

To the other extreme are the extremely conservative estimates of the population such as that made by Linton (1938, p. 150) in which he stated that tribes rarely consisted of more than 1000 people.

On the basis of extended archeological studies, historic documents and legendary evidence discussed at length elsewhere (Suggs 1960, Suggs 1961), it appears that the peak population of the archipelago was between 100,000 and 125,000 and was reached in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

After the beginning of continual European contact about 175 ● 1790, and especially following the French occupation of 1840, [161] [165] the population dwindled rapidly due to the introduction of children's communicable diseases, social diseases and tuberculosis. Firearms aided and added to the anarchy resulting from the collapse of the native political system. /82/ Furthermore, there is evidence of a very severe, prolonged famine [731] in the early nineteenth century that may have wiped out as much as one-third of the population.

Soon after French contact, some attempts at census- 161 taking were made and provide us with certain data illustrating 175 the rapid decline of the population up to the turn of the century.

Source	Date	Total Population
Jouan	1856	12,550
des Vergnes	1872	6,045

/82 cont./

Source	Date	Total Population
Clavel	1882	4,865
Administration Census	1897	3,800

Throughout this period of decline, the birth rate, of course, failed to even approach the death rate. According to an unsigned Ms in the archives of the French administration in Taiohae, dating from 1894, the death rate at this time had been 4 per 100 inhabitants while the birth rate was 1 per 725. During the years 1888 to 1893, considered by the author of the Ms, an annual loss of 148 inhabitants had been sustained. It was further pointed out that the actual birth rate was considerably lower than the figure of 1 per 725 as many infants died soon after birth, and the number of survivors was only about 1/4 of the actual births. Moreover, abortions were extremely frequent, especially in the first months of pregnancy, but no data could be obtained on the actual /83/ number because of lack of native cooperation in reporting information believed to be insignificant.

The native population declined in this fashion throughout the early 1920's reaching its nadir about 1925, when the entire archipelago had approximately 2,000 inhabitants.

While the native population declined, contacts with Europeans and representatives of other races increased. These came from a variety of sources:

a. Sailors of all nationalities appeared in the Marquesas, especially as a result of the whaling industry and trade with the Far East. In 1803, Krusenstern found two white sailors already established in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that the island had only been discovered some 6 years previously by Ingraham of Boston. In 1813, Porter found additional white deserters as did Shillibeer, one year later. The thin stream of deserters swelled during the first decades of the nineteenth century, with the result that by 1838 when French missionaries arrived, sailors "on the beach" constituted a sizable and troublesome group in all the major valleys. Among the deserters, by that

/83 cont./ 162 175 648
time, were Negroes and American Indians. Although the frequency of ships is now considerably diminished, and desertions are uncommon, the frequency of visiting vessels is still quite high; and tourists are becoming more frequent than ever before.

/84/ b. After the French occupation, garrisons and naval units were maintained in Taiohae, Nuku Hiva, and Atuona, Hiva Oa, until the late nineteenth century. The men of the garrison formed liaisons with native women in the majority of cases, and some remained in the Marquesas as colons after the termination of their service.

c. Colonies of expatriates or laborers were established in several instances after contact.

In the late nineteenth century, a colony of Gilbert Islanders was implanted in Ta'a'oa valley, Hiva Oa and remained to be absorbed into the population. During the same period a Chinese group was established in Taipivai and Hapa'a. [167]

During the twentieth century, two additional colonies were started in the Taipivai-Hapa'a region, one consisting of Annamites and the other of Martiniquan Negroes. Both of these failed, however, and were withdrawn.

In addition to these colonies which were mainly for providing plantation-type labor forces, political exiles were also sent to the Marquesas, which was evidently the Siberia of French Oceania. After the Raiatea wars, a large colony of Raiateans were settled on Nuku Hiva, the results of which can still be seen in numerous families of Hatiheu and A'akapa valleys who trace themselves to one of the Raiatea deportees.

Thus, as the population declined, the survivors were 175 563
subjected to increasingly frequent contacts with a wide variety of outsiders, with the /85/ result that the chances of any female being exposed to sexual contacts with outsiders were materially increased. Increases in the frequency of contact naturally resulted in increased miscegenation. The number of "pure-blooded" Marquesans in the Marquesan population dwindled rapidly along with the decline of the entire population.

/85 cont./

At present on the island of Nuku Hiva (pop. ca. 980), there are only 4 individuals who can lay any claim to pure Marquesan ancestry. Some 13 others have made attempts to pass themselves off to visitors as being 'enana toitoi -- true Marquesans --, but their mixed ancestry is revealed with little inquiry.

Complete data on the ratio of male to female in the population were not available to me. However, enough data exist to show that the ratio has held fairly constant during a period of unusual flux in the past.

In the period between 1882 and 1897, during which the population dropped by about 12 per cent, the male-female proportions of the population were as follows:

/86/

Year	Male	Female
1882	51.21%	48.79%
1897	52.01%	47.99%

The same source displays the remarkable effect of the lowered birth rate on the population as a whole by the proportions of adults to children (assumed to be those of 20-plus years and less than 20, respectively, as frequently appears in other French records).

Year	Adults	Children
1882	76%	24%
1897	76.50%	23.50%

This accounts for the top-heavy appearance of the Marquesan population, as recorded by many observers around the turn and the first decades of the twentieth century, in which many valleys contained nothing but adult inhabitants.

Further data are available for the period between 1897 and the 1951 and 1956 censuses. In the 1931 census, the population of the northern Marquesas, comprising the islands of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou and Ua Huka, numbered 1206. Of these, 51% were male, 49% female. Although these data are not for the entire population of both northern and southern groups, they can be said to represent a valid sample.

The data available for calculating birth and death rates were less complete than those used for total population and

/86 cont./

sex ratios. No information of this type was given with the 1951 or 1956 censuses. Data of the 1932 census was available, however, for comparisons with that of the nineteenth century. In 1934 there were some 5 births per 100 population, while only 2.7 deaths occurred per 100. In 1942 a slight drop had occurred, but the figures were still close: 4.6 births per 100; 2.9 deaths per 100.

Aside from the fact that the Marquesan population is definitely expanding quite dramatically again, there are a number of facts which /87/ stand out in comparing the above data with that of the present day. Since 1883, the birth rate has reversed itself in relation to the death rate, while the overwhelmingly adult character of the nineteenth century population has given way to one equally as overwhelming in its youthfulness. (It should be noted, however, that much of the increase is due to a disproportionate growth of the population of Ua Pou. On that island the local missionary constantly admonishes his flock of their procreative duties under church law, with the result that the population of Ua Pou now slightly outnumbers that of Nuku Hiva, although Nuku Hiva is some 3 times as large in surface area. This increase in population is somewhat surprising when one considers that the Ua Pou population was only 55% as large as that of Nuku Hiva in 1931, but by 1936 had risen to 73% of Nuku Hiva's population, and by 1946 had attained 91% of the population of Nuku Hiva.

Further, the demographical data presented above conflict strongly with undocumented statements made by Linton (1939) on Marquesan population. His view that tribes rarely exceeded 1,000 people in size (p. 150) does not stand in the light of a large body of archeological data, demonstrating the existence of populations considerably in excess of that figure for most of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva as well as the other islands in the archipelago.

Linton's claim that there were 200 deaths for every

/89 cont./

A report of Linton (1938, p. 164) that nursing of children was not practiced by the Marquesans receives no support from the present data, other ethnographic reports or historical sources. Linton claimed that the natives believed that nursing made the child hard to manage and not submissive to its parents; as well as having a deleterious effect on the appearance of the breasts of the mother, which he believed to be of considerable importance to the Marquesan woman: "They believe that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it (1938, p. 165)." 114 853

Breast feeding of infants in the Marquesas is attested by the earliest historical records. Thus Marchand in 1792 stated that one of his staff, Captain Chanal, saw mothers suckling their children. Langsdorf in 1807 observed that children were not weaned until they could "go alone," and many were not weaned until they could speak. Some, however, were occasionally fed with additional semi-solid food, generally popoi (fermented and fresh breadfruit paste, mixed). Although Langsdorf's commander, Krusenstern, claimed that children were not nursed, drawings made by the /90/ expedition artist show infants nursing quite plainly, reinforcing Langsdorf's observations. Radiguet, in 1840, stated that although the child would be accustomed to popoi a little after birth, he would not be weaned until "the last extremity, that is to say, when the milk dries up." 175● 853 [862] [262] [862]

Handy, evidently referring to the informant who was the source of Linton's statement says that the informant must have been speaking of the thin gruel of pounded shrimps and poi used in lieu of mother's milk to purge infants after birth and was certainly not referring to a permanent practice of not nursing infants (Handy 1923, p. 75). Von den Steinen (1928, p. 35) describes stone pounders used to prepare the gruel used as food during the first three days of the child's life, after which nursing was presumably begun as the main source of nourishment. [114] [262] [844] [412] [252]

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements.

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past.

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman.

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a

/91 cont./
sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]
European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are 178 864 begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical 175 ● sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who 648 had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, 864 p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard....Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun

/99 cont./ 175 ●
heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period 648
appears to require some qualification, in view of the context 864
in which such sexual relations were observed and reported.
There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships
were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be
temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the
extreme youth of some participants in the historic period
orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; how-
ever, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did
/100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long
after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique dis-
played by the young girls seen by the European explorers may
not have been so much a function of experience as of instruc- [603]
tion received from their grandparents.

There is no information about age of first intercourse 833
for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement 881
that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is 178
evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there 834
is today a strong emotional sanction against males having
heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears
to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general [183]
hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as
much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is
highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began
before circumcision for males. However, there is definite
evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal
period was considerably younger than in current practice --
between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that
most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than
at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14.

A great deal has been written about the existence of 114
adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, 883
and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There 571
appears to be a major difference of opinion among early
ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group.
Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both
speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both
sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from

/103 cont./

intercourse and nudity in the sex act -- as being somewhat unseemly, indicating that the spread of the new morality has been considerable in the male section of the population as well as the female. It is certain that there existed, in former times, a number of girls who were more sexually accessible than the average Marquesan girl. This fact is borne out by the statements of the historical sources noted above, indicating that some women were evidently assigned to white visitors for their sexual use, while others remained aloof. There does not seem to have ever been a recognizable group of girls in aboriginal times who performed the functions of the present /104/ vehine mako group. The unmarried girls who made up the aboriginal upokoehu group, counterpart of the male ka'ioi, were not considered promiscuous by the standards of the culture and bore no stigma for their conduct in what was a perfectly natural phase of the life cycle.

It appears that the present dichotomy was produced by the gradual penetration of Christian values and norms into the severely damaged fabric of the native culture by the missionaries who have worked in the Marquesas for some 120 years. The same introduced value system that has produced the avoidance of nudity in modern adolescents is apparently also responsible for the existence of the standards by which the female population is categorized, and a tension now exists between the surviving aboriginal practices appropriate for adolescents and the Christian moral standards more recently grafted onto the culture. I believe that in the modern promiscuous girls, the last remnants of the upokoehu groups of former times can be seen, albeit in a considerably lowered social status. That such a group exists at all is a tribute to their very real value for the society of protecting the other girls from the aggressions of strangers.

If one examines the sexual behavior of the promiscuous girls, it will be seen that it accords in general with the very sparse information recorded on this topic. Thus, serial intercourse was common (Handy, Linton), nudity was also preferred (Linton) and some signs of emotion were displayed at the point of orgasm (Linton, Handy). The girls were

/104 cont./
not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numerous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture in general) which appear to have been of European introduction. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly Western type kissing in general, and a large number of idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with particular individuals. However, these last are relatively superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of behavioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus, there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allowing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch (Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimulation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held effective power over the male contingent by the distribution of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/112 cont./

120 years elapsed since the French colonization of these islands. Attempts have also been made to identify the causative forces that have produced the changes noted in sexual behavior. Naturally, these forces have acted on the society as a whole and often the effects upon the sexual behavior are not direct but mediated through other agencies. To discuss them /113/ in relation to sexual behavior alone is perhaps to bias or slant the picture, but the over-all acculturation processes going on in the Marquesas are far beyond the scope of this paper; therefore, statements of interrelationship between sexual and other social and economic phenomena have been generally restricted to areas of major importance.

In general, the acculturation changes in Marquesan sexual behavior have occurred in areas that are completely expectable in view of the nature and history of Marquesan-European culture contact. As I have discussed elsewhere, the protracted period of frequent whaler visits to the island between 1790 and 1840 set the stage for culture collapse by placing considerable strain on the whole fabric of native society. The economy was severely taxed by the necessity of provisioning European ships that stopped in large numbers in the major bays of the main islands, carrying away with them very sizable quantities of food. Furthermore, famine of very serious proportions occurred between 1803 and 1813. Internecine warfare increased as a result of firearms, traded for provisions by whalers, while the introduction of white diseases helped to increase the death rate, already swelled by war. Thus, when the French moved in in 1840, the native society was by no means a healthy specimen: considerable disorganization was evident in both social and economic spheres.

The French occupation was preceded by a period during which French missionaries smoothed the way and obtained vital information on the culture, which was subsequently used to hasten its destruction. When the military /114/ expedition arrived, the French immediately set about systematically destroying the social structure, first by subduing and/or replacing chiefs, thus gradually eliminating all capable leadership. The substituted "chiefs" were often not acceptable

/114 cont./

in the eyes of their subjects, and soon the only leadership came from the French military and the missionaries. Christianity was literally forced upon the culture, as missionary efforts were backed up by military forces. The church acquired large land holdings, thus acquiring a powerful economic weapon for use against recalcitrants, and arbitrarily passed laws, as representative of the French government forbidding native dress, tattoo, religion, music, dancing and cosmetics. With the social organization already broken down, the population depleted by the epidemics of the late nineteenth century, and the culture robbed of vitality by missionary fiats, it was not long before complete demoralization set in and aboriginal Marquesan culture ceased to exist.

In view of the almost complete obliteration of native political organization, art, large areas of subsistence technology, and religion, it is not surprising that changes have also occurred in native sexual behavior. The radical changes in values and attitudes due to Christianization, the disappearance of many vital roles in the social system, and marked economic changes could not have been expected to leave this area of behavior unscathed. What is most surprising, however, is not that the sexual behavior changed, but that it changed so little! The tremendous amount of continuity in this area of behavior never ceased to amaze me, especially when compared to the all-encompassing changes in other /115/ aspects of the culture. The reason for the relatively good preservation of aboriginal sexual behavior is to be found in the bitterness and hostility of the native population, vis-a-vis the French administration and in particular the French missionaries. There are relatively few ways open to the Marquesan to express his hostility toward those who wield power over him, and gain some feeling of gratification. One method is through the use of the native language as a weapon, as discussed above. The unsuspecting white has no defense against a language he does not understand. This tactic cannot be used on the missionaries, however, as the use of the native language is mandatory for them. Therefore, some other technique must be adapted and it is in this